

# PEACE NEWS

No. 1,213 London, Sept 25, 1959 6d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

## This should be Britain's answer to Mr. K:

**Yes. We accept your suggestion to 'Scrap the lot.' Britain will give a lead by DOING it**

See pages 4 and 5



The Hereford Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament staged a demonstration outside Hereford Cathedral on Sunday when they held a poster parade during a Battle of Britain Commemoration Service. Pictured here are some of the demonstrators near the saluting base where Lord Cilcennin (Lord Lt. Herefordshire) was taking the salute. Photo: Derek Evans. See "Churches picketed in Hereford Campaign," back page

# The election: PUT THE BOMB TO THE VOTE

By ALEX COMFORT

FOR TWO YEARS THE CND HAS CARRIED ON ITS CAMPAIGN ON BEHALF OF THE UNCONSULTED—AGAINST THE “DETERRENT” AND THE MEN WHO SANCTION OR CONNIVE AT IT.

All the major parties, all the Western Governments, and most of the office-holders in NATO countries, who agree in little else, are publicly committed to the proposition that if they are attacked they will destroy the human race. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has opposed that proposition because it is lunacy, because it is ineffective, and because it is morally wrong.

In doing so it has grown to be the largest public movement in our recent political history. It has run at right angles to the official Party policies. It has had no hidden resource but the support of a growing body of people who value their own children more than the prestige of the Top People, but it has come to threaten the whole structure upon which the Top People are climbing. It has not needed to conduct propaganda, so much as to muster opinion which was arising spontaneously.

### Top persons toppling

The public itself has seen the whole monstrous project of “deterrance” reflecting more and more the influence of softening brains and hardening arteries, and it has come to the Campaign looking not for arguments but for a means of resistance.

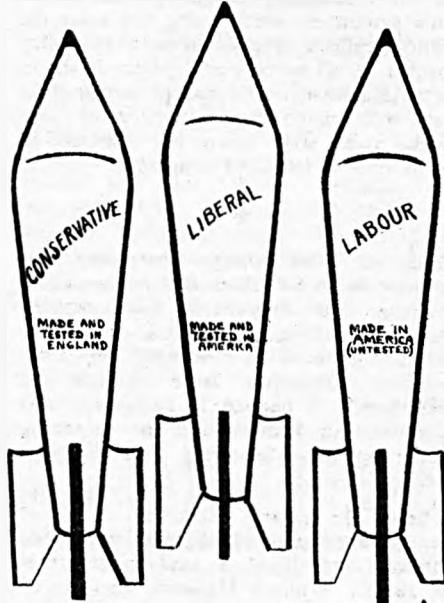
How much the Campaign, through the shape which it has taken, threatens the status of the professional Top Person, has never been more evident than in this pre-election week. In a few days the electorate will be asked to decide which of two balloons it will inflate to human size and send to the Summit, and whether the face which grins out of the next television commercial shall be that of Mr. Macmillan or Mr. Gaitskell. That was to have been all—if the political Liberaces could have helped it there would have been no more mention of such inconvenient matters as the “Deterrent” than in the famous Eisenhower interview.

It is a measure of the success of the Campaign that the issue has been raised, and will be raised, again and again, and the evasive action taken by the would-be Liberaces, the new chandeliers and Mops which adorn their programmes, are concrete results of it—the increase in the tempo of the Geneva talks during the year, Mr. Gaitskell’s “phoney war” against the Bomb, the contortions of the election manifestos. All the confidence machinery has been in full action, but the public has hung on.

Although nuclear weapons are neither the main nor the only issue which is affecting Party prospects, it has probably had a larger effect in spreading political scepticism than any other. How this will be expressed in the vote (if it can be expressed in a vote) remains to be seen. It seems plain already

1 That no government will be returned now or in the future which will implement the Campaign’s policy until it is compelled to do so, but that almost any government might implement it, *de facto*, if its leaders can be threatened in the only matter which does affect such leaders today, their personal ambitions:

2 That the Campaign will continue after the elections unabated—with renewed force, in fact,



whether it gets any inspiration from the conviction of its Labour members that “after all, Labour is easier to persuade” or from the knowledge that a cock-a-hoop Tory majority will need some rough handling from the public to prevent more Suez landings:

3 That while the return of a Tory government reinforced in its obstinacy by a “mandate” would be a disaster, the return of a Labour government under a second Guy Mollet would be hardly less so, and that a defeat in this election, whatever else it did, would smash the devices which render the Labour Party harmless to the NATO generals.

4 That while there might be some gain—in Africa, for example—in a change of Cabinet, there might be still more in the return of a genuine Opposition, culled of its pro-Bomb members, bitterly resentful of its right-wing leadership, and ready for opposition instead of collusion.

### Summit moonshine

Much has been, and will be, said about a Summit meeting, the desirability of having someone other than Selwyn Lloyd to conduct “negotiations,” the choice of finger on the diplomatic trigger. This carries less weight than might appear, for the outcome of such meetings does not depend on the virtuoso performances of Great Men wrestling with real Problems. As Mr. Hagerty told the pressman who asked him what issues of substance the Premier had discussed with the President, “Don’t be foolish—this is only an exercise in goodwill ! ”

The object of Summit conferences is not to settle problems—once public opinion really forces a settlement, “problems” have a way of melting unannounced into thin air.

The real purpose of such staged occasions

□ ON PAGE FOUR

# Direct Action in a democracy

APRIL CARTER \* reviews

**Direct Action**, by Wallace Hancock. Movement for a Pacifist Church of Christ, 4d.  
"DOES a pacifist minority claim a veto over the democratic procedures of the majority? This is the basic and fundamental question posed by Direct Action against Nuclear War."

So Wallace Hancock concludes the opening paragraph of his lively pamphlet about direct action, which was published soon after the Swaffham demonstrations last December. The pamphlet is mainly concerned with discussing the implications of these demonstrations, although a brief reference is made to the industrial "direct action" of the 1920s, since strikes for political purposes raise similar questions about our conception of democracy.

In less than 3,000 words Wallace Hancock has summarised briefly the problem posed by direct action in a Parliamentary democracy, and then set out a few arguments in favour of Swaffham. The length of the pamphlet is partly responsible for both its faults and its virtues. It is stimulating, easy to read, and makes its points trenchantly. I like the parts where it points out the inadequacy of our present democratic system, in which every five years the political caucus presents us with its policy "packet of all sorts"; and where it shows up the inconsistency of pacifist constitutionalists who claim the supremacy of conscience over state laws, but exclaim in horror over a technical trespass.

\*

I do not think however that those who are opposed to Swaffham will be persuaded to change their opinions by this pamphlet. Since it is written for pacifists, one of the crucial arguments is "Support for Conscientious Objection leads straight to Pickenham." I happen to agree with this statement, but I don't find the reasoning leading up to it satisfying, and doubt if others will do so.

There are other examples of short circuited arguments which oversimplify the problems, and therefore tend to misrepresent them. Wallace Hancock disposes of the theory that it is necessarily wrong to arouse violent opposition by referring to the bitter opposition aroused by COs in the First World War and to the early Christian martyrs. He concludes "that this new found reluctance of pacifist organisations to arouse opposition leads us towards a somewhat topsy-turvy philosophy" which suggests that all beliefs arousing hostility should immediately be abandoned. These forthright comments are valuable, but they do not fully answer the objections raised. No pacifists have in fact suggested that it is

\*The reviewer is secretary of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War.

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wrong to arouse opposition, but that one should not deliberately create a situation in which violence is likely to be used.

The authors of the analysis of the Cheyenne project provide a better answer. They point out that violence is necessarily inherent in the construction of a missile base, but so long as the population passively acquiesce in this outrage the violence is not apparent. Non-violent intervention immediately dramatises the situation and unleashes the forces of violence. Martin Luther King makes a similar point in his story of the Montgomery (Alabama) bus boycott, when he says that before the boycott the sullen acquiescence of the negro population in injustice appeared to be "peaceful," but a period of conflict was needed to create a real peace founded on justice.

Some parts of this pamphlet are vague and need clearer definition. One paragraph deals with "the element of coercion in non-violence" without explaining what is meant by coercion—a much-abused term—or why it is necessarily present in non-violence. Another paragraph beginning "many of us are unduly worried to maintain a logical consistency in a world which

almost defies any attempt to classify it." seems to imply that direct action is not consistent with pacifism but should be undertaken nevertheless. This is not very helpful!

\*

But my chief criticism is that there is undue emphasis on the time factor. Wallace Hancock argues that few pacifists would hesitate to prostrate themselves in front of lorries carrying missiles to the Pickenham base in the event of war, and concludes that "the difference is less on the morality of direct action than on the urgency of the threat of war." There is a good deal of truth in this, but it is misleading. The time factor could be argued in favour of violent tactics, but according to the Gandhian means-end principle unethical means would hinder, not hasten, the desired end. This is obvious in the case of sabotage—blowing up a rocket base would ruin the campaign. But if physical intervention is in fact an unethical method the same would apply to a lesser degree. Lack of time is an important factor; it is not the central argument in favour of direct action. One cannot cheat with time.

The unique threat of the hydrogen bomb highlights the issues and makes direct action more imperative, but one cannot talk about direct action solely within the context of the bomb. The two basic questions which the advocates of direct action have

got to answer in detail are: is direct action, including the kind of action taken at Swaffham, consistent with a pacifist philosophy; and is it consistent with our concepts of democracy? The recent events in Kerala underline some of the problems involved in this discussion.

It is impossible to treat either of these questions adequately in a short pamphlet. Wallace Hancock has produced a challenging preface to the detailed studies which should follow. I recommend his "Direct Action" as a stimulant to further controversy, and hope he will contribute at more length to it.

## 'THE FEAR OF BEING AFRAID'

BY the time this appears in print Nuclear Disarmament Week will be over. Up and down the country the population will have been challenged to consider the case for the unilateral abandonment of weapons of mass destruction. In the process they will be given cause to consider many another thing as well. That is what always happens when people begin to get interested in an idea or cause, provided the idea is reasonably and not pathologically entertained; they find that there are no simple solutions to any problem of person or society, no crusades as easy as their slogans.

Behind the answer to every question there lies another question, and all people who take part, with integrity, in movements for the edification or welfare of mankind must constantly be nagged by the incompleteness, the built-in inadequacy of any purely human programme to meet at once both the needs and the objections of those they seek to help. They must also, again, be not infrequently aware of the extent to which their own personal psychological needs and fears project themselves into the work they do and the notions they embrace.

This is not abnormal, or wrong. It is normal and a mark of humility. Not to have doubts about the total wisdom of one's cause suggests fanaticism. Not to have doubts about the disinterested righteousness of oneself confirms it.

### Reaching the apathetic

During the course of Nuclear Disarmament Week then there will have been many questions put to speakers which were partially, shakily or downright badly answered. There will have been many more which arose in the minds of hearers which were never put, but wrestled with in the isolation of the individual's spirit.

One of the questions put at a meeting in which I participated, and doubtless present in the minds of thousands, was that perennial one about how we reach the people who are apathetic towards the whole thing. For a programme as radical as nuclear disarmament to win its way against the powerful forces which resist it, it will need to have not merely the acquiescence but the active sympathy of probably a good deal more than 50 per cent of the electorate. How are they to be won?

One of the answers often given is that they are to be won by doing just what we are doing now, campaigning in the streets and the halls of the country displaying posters and giving speeches. I have always been uneasy about this answer. It seems to me one of the partial ones; I guess, too,

weapons, in a fearful sense. They do not allow this fear to erupt into consciousness. They seek to escape from the pain of having to contemplate what the H-bomb means. They are eager consumers of all forms of entertainment and diversion (not necessarily trashy). They make a point of being angry or contemptuous or indifferent to all talk of war and bombs. These are the ones who have been described as full of "the fear of being afraid."

Reaching both these groups of people, no less important in the scale of religious and social values than the politically interested and the psychologically sound (if there is such a concept), is a problem which all workers for peace must begin to get down to. There is no slick solution, so much is clear. How is it then to be tackled?

We invite the opinions of readers. Keep your comments concise, and give illustrations of cases where your methods have succeeded. A résumé of your ideas will appear in future columns.

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# PEOPLE AND PLACE by PHYZ

## THE 'GUTTER' PRESS

NUCLEAR Disarmament Week was quite a picnic for Top People. Their favourite newspaper's report of the opening day was an Establishment gem—if you consider what the reader was left to conclude.

Whitehall is always a happy hunting ground for tourists, wrote The Times' special correspondent (not just any old correspondent, you'll notice, but Our Special Correspondent). And to add to it all, there was the Campaign's picket, with "theatrical people strolling up and down the gutter." (Reader thinks: *Just where they belong.*)

They "included some rather well-known names" (but nobody from the *REAL* Establishment, of course), "although most passers-by seemed more interested in the old Spitfire parked across the road." (*Solid, sensible, dependable tourists.*)

This "Whitehall gesture" (it's *nothing more, thank goodness—a safe enough form of protest*) was headlined: "Theatre Folk in Ban the Bomb Stroll" (*just a casual Saturday outing—they can't possibly be SERIOUS about it.*)

Then there was the Campaign's Youth March. "Passing The Times office in Queen Victoria Street one boy varied the chant of 'Ban the Bomb' to 'Ban The Times.'" (*Gad, sah, the ultimate heresy. They should bring back the "cat" for his sort.*)

The march assembled at Charing Cross, "some of them jiving in underground stations en route" (*silly young irresponsible tools—probably all Teddy Boys anyway*).

What if it had been debauches at 2.0 a.m. throwing champagne glasses out of Chelsea windows at passers-by, or Old Etonians from Sandhurst letting off fire-extinguishers? Why—just youthful high spirits advertising a good cause: the Establishment.

### He watches over you

**Y**OU cinema-goers don't know how lucky you are. Do you realise that in most countries of the world there are gentlemen who spend all of their working hours making sure that you see nothing unpleasant or disturbing when you go to the local cinema?

Just recently these gentlemen have been active in Britain and New Zealand.

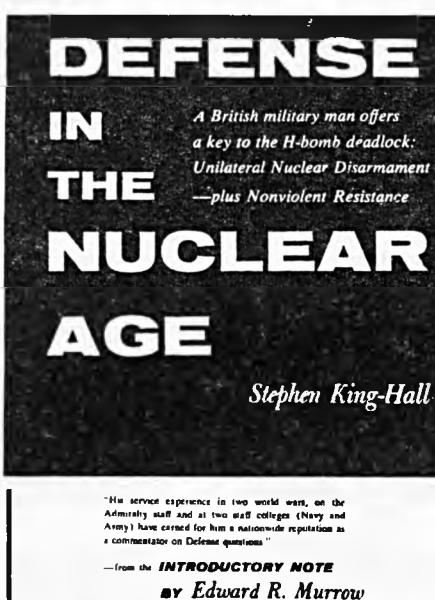
"I Want to Live" is an American film which tells the true story of Barbara Graham, who was executed a few years ago in California for murder. There are now good reasons for believing that she was innocent.

The last sequence of the film is an almost documentary reconstruction of Barbara Graham's last moments in the death house as her execution was postponed, fixed, postponed, and eventually carried out. The British censor decided Barbara Graham's last moments in the gas chamber were too horrific for British audiences to see (though American audiences had been able to see all of the film).

"March to Aldermaston," the film of the 1958 Aldermaston march, has just arrived in New Zealand. The New Zealand censor decided that the shots in the film which showed the effects of the Hiroshima A-bomb were too horrific for New Zealand audiences to see, so he cut them.

It's good of the censor to think of our welfare. But I have a nasty suspicion about his motives. Could it be that he thinks films which show capital punishment and the effects of nuclear bombs too realistically might encourage us to want to censor the real things?

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### Publication justified

**T**HIS picture shows the striking cover to an American edition of Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall's book.

The jacket design is by William Robert Millar, whose story about World War III, "Armageddon, Ltd.", was published in PN on September 11; and the work is published at \$2.75 by Fellowship Publications, the publishers of the US section of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (Box 271, Nyack, N.Y.).

None other than Edward R. Murrow has

written an introductory note, and the publishers themselves provide a valuable notice.

"Why," they ask, "should a pacifist organisation wish to publish a book that explicitly disclaims a 'pacifist' intention?"

"It is a commentary on the momentousness of the change in the scope of warfare that people like Commander King-Hall have, not on grounds of principle but of expediency, been drawn to consider non-violent resistance as a matter of practical policy..."

"Pacifists . . . may find in Commander King-Hall's proposals both a challenge to their values and a stimulus to action fully consistent with their faith in the moral power of non-violence."

"It is because of this latter point that we feel justified in lending our name to this book, and also because we believe that from the same source from which that faith is derived, those who are attracted to non-violence for purely practical reasons may catch a glimpse of the fuller light that is our pacifist message."

"The adoption of non-violence as an instrument of national policy would, as Commander King-Hall recognises, have implications beyond the immediate aim of avoiding nuclear catastrophe."

"Pacifists may reserve the hope that some of these implications would extend beyond the author's keen range of vision to a state of affairs in which, through a dynamic of reconciliation eclipsing both 'co-existence' and the 'cold war,' both the Western democracies and the Communist countries would experience transformations that would render today's limited vocabulary of international relations obsolete."

Fellowship Publications have also put out another most valuable book, about which I hope to be writing next week. Commander King-Hall's book can still be bought in Britain, of course (Gollancz, 18s.).

### OUR FUND

**A**S I write, orders for our September 11 issue (with the missile base map) are still coming in. The past two weeks have seen parcel after parcel of peace literature leaving the office in a stream that has taxed the resources of our despatch department and greatly thinned our stocks, which have had to be quickly replenished.

And now we go straight from Nuclear Disarmament Week into the Election Campaign. As in 1955 Peace News will be the only weekly keeping the issue of nuclear weapons and unilateral disarmament in the forefront.

The best election fund to contribute to is the Peace News Fund. The Fund which finances Peace News, the paper which never lets up in the campaign to abolish war and build up in its place a peaceful social order.

### THE EDITOR.

Contributions since Sept. 11: £42 11s. Total since Feb. 1, 1959: £733 11s. 1d. Still needed £1,766.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Lady Clare Annesley, Treasurer, Peace News, 5, Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.



### War Museum orders Peace News pamphlet

PEACE NEWS has received an order for Gene Sharp's pamphlet, "Tyranny Could Not Quell Them" (Peace News Pamphlets, 1s.) to be supplied to the Imperial War Museum. The pamphlet describes the way in which the school teachers of Norway frustrated German attempts to introduce Nazism into the country's educational system, during the occupation, and the significance of this non-violent action for advocates of unilateral disarmament.

## EMPTY BELLIES SPELL REVOLUTION

THE Natal Province of the Union of South Africa is fast moving towards widespread revolt.

In the past six weeks police have been attacked, buses, schools and welfare centres burnt. Why??

What makes hundreds of Zulu women—many with children on their backs—run berserk through their own townships, chanting and burning as they go? What makes their menfolk—usually quieter and steadier than the women—march on a town, burning White farmers' grasslands?

The fundamental reason is—thousands of empty bellies after years of persecution and oppression.

Here are some of the causes:

Influx control regulations, which have caused mass unemployment and extreme poverty.

Police provocation, particularly when the people gather to discuss their predicament.

The injustice of arrests and jail sentences for purely technical offences.

Interference—without explanation—with age-old tribal customs.

Increased taxes, without an increase in wages.

The pass system—the bugbear of every African in the Union—which leads to constant fear of arrest and separation from the family.

### Poisoned mind

It is the old, old story. The poisoned mind of the South African Government is too warped to think of treating non-whites as human beings. When a new regulation is enforced no one explains it to the African who, in some areas, is still a primitive tribesman.

There was, for instance, the dipping tank fiasco in Natal rural areas just before the first of the recent Natal riots, in which more than 1,000 African women were arrested and some 300 convicted and jailed. Stock control officials throughout Natal

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#### COMMENTARY

native reserves suddenly forced women to fill dipping tanks for their cattle.

Each woman is made to carry about 20 buckets of water as her contribution towards filling the dips. Cattle has to be dipped every fortnight. Owners are fined £5 if they fail to dip their cattle.

The Zulus' resentment against dipping is born of ignorance. They—particularly the women—believe that dipping makes bulls impotent, and is responsible for the poor condition of their cattle.

No one has bothered to explain the advantages of dipping.

No one has bothered, firmly but courteously, to break down the superstition which clouds the tribesmen's judgment of any newly-introduced farming technique.

Since the Cator Manor uprising—which started over a liquor issue and occurred only six miles from the luxury hotels on Durban's glittering seashore—there have been other riots in the inland districts of Maritzburg and Harding.

As I write—only three weeks after the Harding disturbances—the South African Broadcasting Corporation is reporting further rioting at Cator Manor. It was the men this time. The police were making liquor raids in the township. A truckload of African offenders were being taken to the police cells.

Suddenly the stones and sticks began to fly. Police jumped from the truck and engaged their attackers with batons and sjamboks. The crowd swelled. The police party was split. One policeman was seized and shaken by angry Africans. The police commander gave the order to fire.

Two Africans dropped dead. Others

fell bleeding in the dust. Many were arrested. Hatred in their eyes, the crowd dispersed.

There will be more incidents like this. The Zulu tribesmen of the valleys, the hills, the townships of Natal are at breaking point after years of oppression by arrogant, racialistic white governments.

In one of the Union's other provinces—the Transvaal—the persecution is even more ruthless. And the persecuted—always the non-Whites—are becoming bolder with exasperation as yet another indignity is piled on them.

Hunger, poverty, midnight pass raids, the constant fear of arrest, police beatings, racial discrimination, slave conditions on some of the farms, and even in commerce and industry. . . . This is the lot of every Black man in South Africa.

### Voice of non-violence

Yet despite all this always can be heard the African voice of moderation—the rich voice of that tolerant, well-balanced leader, Chief Luthuli.

After years of persecution himself—he was ordered by the Government to relinquish the rights of Chief when he became president-general of the African National Congress—Albert Luthuli, still referred to as Chief by his people, continues to condemn violence.

But today his is the voice in the wilderness.

For South Africa's notorious Special Branch police went to his home some weeks ago and said: "Pack your bags. You're being banished."

So it was that the Nationalist Government, headed by that ruthless White-supremist Dr. Verwoerd, expelled from the political scene the most able and moderate African leader the country has ever had.

Meanwhile, attempts are being made by the Congress movement to halt the use of violence by Natal's Zulus.

Tribesmen are being told how they can continue their anti-Government campaign more effectively by non-violent means.

## Dole for the generals

PEACE NEWS is normally opposed to unemployment of any kind. But there is one kind of unemployment that we would more than welcome—the kind of unemployment that Mr. Khrushchov proposed in his speech to the United Nations on Friday of last week.

It was a spectacular idea to suggest that all armed forces should be scrapped within four years. It was inevitable that the Western Powers should not be very forthcoming about Mr. Khrushchov's idea. Armed forces have for so long been an integral part of the power and prestige of the state that the Powers find it difficult to imagine themselves without them.

But one cannot entirely blame the Western statesmen for their lukewarm reactions. It is one thing to make spectacular proposals. It is another thing altogether to suggest ways that they might be implemented. But without such a suggestion Mr. Khrushchov's proposals will remain unreal dreams.

Mr. Khrushchov, being convinced of his own sincerity and seriousness, no doubt thinks that if the Western Powers were as sincere and serious as he, disarmament negotiations could be successful in a very short time. The Western Powers have the same (only the other way round) convictions. So what is the obstacle to agreement?

The answer, of course, is one that we have given many times before (and will no doubt give many times in the future). Disarmament by negotiation in the fashion envisaged by the statesmen would need such a complex system of controls that without an atmosphere of trust such a system could not possibly work. That atmosphere is not present in the world at the moment (the best evidence of this is the way that Khrushchov has been received in America).

How can we get that trust? Surely the best way of getting it and of making an effective answer to Mr. Khrushchov at the same time would be for Britain (or America) to announce that it will disarm itself unilaterally of nuclear weapons immediately, and of conventional weapons over a specified period. This would be a spectacular but realistic reply to a spectacular proposal.

## Watching the police

THE Nottingham City Council's Watch Committee has been very unfairly treated by the Press for its attitude to the city's chief constable, Captain Popkess. The whole affair has been treated as if it was a typical example of the bureaucratic activities of local councils.

There is plenty of evidence of such activities by local councils but they do not invariably behave in this way.

The Nottingham City Council seems in fact to have behaved in a very responsible manner. Captain Popkess was suspended by the city council on July 9 for refusing to disclose to the Watch Committee the contents of a report on the visit of some Labour members to East Germany. The original affair has now become completely confused by all the statements and counter statements that have been made by the people involved in the dispute.

But whatever the rights and wrongs of this original dispute, it seems absolutely necessary that there should have been some enquiry into the activities of the Nottingham police. In a letter to The Guardian on Saturday, a Nottingham journalist described how the police asked local journalists the names of people who had taken part in a nuclear disarmament demonstration and how a member of the staff of one of the local Nottingham papers had been asked by the police to supply them with the names of the people who had written "anti-chief constable" letters to the paper under pseudonyms.

There is always a tendency for the police to behave in a high-handed and authoritarian manner. Watch Committees may not be the best method of keeping them in check, but if this is so some other method should be devised.

## 'Peace of the brave'

AT the time of writing the Algerian Government in exile and the F.L.N. have yet to respond to General de Gaulle's proposals for the future of Algeria, which have been put forward in anticipation of the UN debate and are outlined by Fenner Brockway, MP, on page seven. These proposals depend upon the acceptance by the F.L.N. of a "cease fire," after which there would be a period of peaceful stabilisation under the present forms of government in preparation for a plebiscite, not to be delayed beyond a period of four years, in which the inhabitants of Algeria would be invited to determine their own future.

A possible, and real, objection by the F.L.N. to the offer of independence is the fact that the Sahara oil resources would remain in French hands, and there would have to be a regrouping of population to provide for a self-governing resettlement area for the French colonists in Algeria.

We may express the hope that the delay by the F.L.N. in pronouncing on this offer leaves room to assume that serious consideration is being given as to what can be done with it. Too often the Algerian leadership gives the impression that it is only capable of thinking of a struggle for independence in terms of killing and being killed. There could be other and more promising possibilities of progress towards genuine Algerian independence on the basis of an acceptance of a "cease fire" and the subsequent choice in self-determination.

If, as could very well be, the conditions attached to the choice of complete independence are held to be unacceptable, the choice of complete integration would not only offer a more fruitful prospect in place of war, of constitutional struggle towards genuine independence, but it would have the immediate effect of placing the more reactionary of the "colonies" at a political disadvantage, for it would for the first time align the French authorities against the "ultras."

General de Gaulle's "cease fire" proposal remains his

"peace of the brave" proposition made some months ago. This left in doubt some aspects of the future position of those who had been bearing arms under the FLN, but it was associated with a declaration of willingness to discuss the question with the FLN leaders in the Government in exile.

We hold that the Algerian leaders should enter into these talks. They are doubtless presented with difficult problems, but difficulties should not be evaded at the price of continued slaughter.

## Propaganda patterns

SO far the British general election campaign has followed an accustomed pattern. Announcing the date of the election, Mr. Macmillan said that one of the reasons for choosing this date was the need to settle who should represent Britain at the projected Summit conference. But it is noticeable that Conservative Party propaganda has paid very little attention to international affairs and has concentrated on telling everybody that "they never had it so good."

Labour propaganda has taken a similar pattern. In their manifesto "Britain belongs to you," the Labour Party relegates international affairs to the last section. And Labour's famous non-nuclear club proposal, the proposal that is to free the world from war, only appears in the following two sentences, "This year we have taken the lead on another urgent problem—the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries. We have put forward the only concrete proposals designed to stop this dangerous development and so leave the way to world wide disarmament, which is our paramount objective." No attempt is even made to explain what the proposals are.

There is no doubt that as the election campaign develops there will be pressure on all candidates to concentrate on those issues like higher wages, lower taxes, or better pension schemes, which, it is assumed, most directly appeal to the electors. One of the most useful services that people who think war is the crucial issue can perform is to see that all candidates who think likewise do keep war and peace in the forefront of their campaign.

## . . . and distortions

ELECTIONS that are run on the present lines inevitably produce a series of distortions and exaggerations. The prize for the wildest remarks made so far goes to Mr. Patrick Maitland, a Conservative MP in the last Parliament. In an election speech he announced that if the Labour Party was elected this might well be the last election to take place in Britain.

Mr. Maitland's wildness is only an extreme form of what will be happening all over Britain during the election campaigns. It is easy enough to dismiss this as an inevitable outcome of the democratic process and not particularly important. Individual cases are probably not important. But when they become general, they are bound to have some effect on the elector. After hearing constant distortions and exaggerations, he inevitably becomes cynical and apathetic. Nor can he be blamed for this. If democracy is ceasing to work properly in this country it is the politicians who treat it so lightly who are to blame.

## Alex Comfort

FROM PAGE ONE

sions is the same as that of nuclear weapons themselves—to frighten and deceive us, and to make little men feel big. It does not matter whether we are "represented" at them by Clapham or by Dwyer.

What does matter is how combative a public is in his rear.

"Undemocratic demagogic!" say the demagogues who want to be elected. But refusal to be imposed upon is not a negation of democracy; it might in the event do something to throw the men by whom "democracy" has been castrated. Why should we vote for men who either support NATO or are pretending to support it in order to secure party nomination?

### Focus of democracy

We might possibly vote for any candidate from whom we can extract an unequivocal pledge to defy the Party leaders if necessary. We should refuse, in spite of blandishments, to vote for men who endorse nuclear weapons, our own or those of the Americans, or who equivocate in public to please their Party leaders while giving private assurances of like-mindedness to their anti-bomb constituents (these people will not keep their word in any case).

The focus of democracy, and of hope for an end to the ascendancy of juvenile delinquents in public life, is no longer in the hustings.

It is in the widening of the campaign for issues at the expense of the campaigns for office, and of ad hoc action by the public at the expense of the Parties.

The movement of opinion at the recent TUC Congress is of far greater prognostic

**IN PERSPECTIVE**

MR. MACMILLAN smiles and tells us the Conservative Party will give us prosperity and peace. Mr. Gaitskell smiles and tells us the Labour Party will give us prosperity and peace. Mr. Grimond smiles and tells us the Liberal Party will give us prosperity and peace. Up and down the country the candidate roll out the platitudes they don't believe in and the promises they won't keep. The newspapers distort the party's programmes so that they become unrecognisable. Democracy is at work. The election is on.

What choice is there for the elector who thinks that nuclear war is the supreme issue, with colonialism and the underdeveloped countries as other vital issues. Let it be said immediately that the present Government is no choice at all. A foreign policy that is based on the threat to annihilate millions of people, Cyprus, Suez and Central Africa; it is a revolting record covered only by the general prosperity this

importance than the ballot can be under present circumstances.

If we needed a slogan independent of election results, it might well be "Let us deal with the bases, and the Sunbeam will look after itself."

If at the present rate of exchange one man who actively down tools is worth several dozen who vote for Dwyer against Clapham, the blame lies not with us, nor with democracy, but with the men who have exploited it to breaking-point.

## A TIME TO PROTEST

country has enjoyed in the past few years. Is the Labour Party a better choice? On some issues there have been clear differences between the Government and the Opposition. On the supreme issue of nuclear war there is no difference. In some respects the Conservative Party's record is preferable in that it is at least honest. The

### AN EDITORIAL

non-nuclear club, the recall conference of the Municipal Workers—Mr. Gaitskell has stopped at nothing to keep his beloved H-bomb. And would the Labour Party be very different from the Conservative if it is returned to power? Its consistent regard for the floating voter, its machine politics, its MPs who troop obediently into the lobbies behind their leaders, none of these give one confidence that it is any alternative to the present government.

The Liberals present no real alternative to the main parties. They are just as firmly committed to "the great deterrent" as Labour and the Conservatives. They are better at giving the general impression that they are a radical party than they are at producing a programme that shows any concrete signs of radicalism.

If the orthodox parties have their way the election will be a smokescreen thrown over all the important issues.

### Smoke-screen

HOW can we use our votes to dispel this smoke-screen? Clearly a vote for any of the

majority parties, except where there are candidates who disagree so strongly with party policy that they are prepared to vote against it, and to defy the Party Whips if necessary, will only thicken the smoke screen.

What of the minority parties? There is only one minority party of any size that is contesting the election and that is Plaid Cymru (the Welsh Party) with twenty candidates. With its programme of decentralisation, complete opposition to colonialism and nuclear weapons, and willingness to explore non-violent methods of action, a vote for Plaid Cymru would be a real protest against the present set-up and a step towards more intelligent politics.

Unfortunately, this alternative is present only in Wales. In England and Scotland, votes for minority parties like the Fellowship Party, the Independent Labour Party, and some independents will be an effective protest.

In other constituencies there seems to be only one course of action that makes sense. That is to refuse to vote while making it perfectly clear why you have refused to vote. Is there any other way in which opponents of nuclear weapons and war will be able to make their position clear?

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By Sybil Morrison

## SCRAP THE LOT

We are willing to put into effect complete and comprehensive disarmament.—Mr. Khrushchov, Sept. 18, 1959.

I say we should accept Mr. Khrushchov's proposals in principle. After all, scrap the lot, all the arms, is just what we all want to see . . . providing it is the lot, everywhere, and they really are scrapped.—Mr. Gaitskell, Sept. 19, 1959.

IT is thirty-two years since Mr. Litvinov, the Russian representative on the League of Nations Disarmament Commission, astonished the Conference by proposing total disarmament, explaining that this would mean agreement to abolish all armed forces and all ammunition. The USSR, he declared, would be willing to do this if all would agree.

History now repeats itself, not only in Mr. Khrushchov's proposals for total disarmament, but in the derision and the suspicion from Press and delegates alike, with which they have been received.

Instead of joy, the delegates are reported to be bitterly disappointed at the lack of any realism in the proposals, and in the so-called hypocrisy of the propaganda. The only difference between Litvinov at the League of Nations, and Khrushchov at the United Nations, is in the status of the USSR.

In 1927 Russia was of minor importance among the great powers; to-day Russia is of paramount importance since, if military values are to be accepted as the criterion of greatness, her position of overwhelming strength is momentarily, at any rate, established.

Britain and America have long been arguing that superior strength is the only sure basis for successful negotiation; possibly Mr. Khrushchov finds this his only real point of agreement with the Western Powers and has slavishly copied their ideas. And so, from the strength of his rocket to the moon, he repeats the Litvinov proposals; if every nation will scrap their armies, navies and air force, so will Russia.



Some members of the Labour Party may have been waiting eagerly for Mr. Gaitskell's reaction; they may even have hoped that he would prove himself to be a man of sufficient vision to see this moment in history as Labour's greatest and most glorious opportunity.

For them, the disappointment is all the more bitter; the splendid call to "scrap the lot" in Britain; the rallying cry to the nation to put back a Government that would in fact show the USSR that this country at least would take the challenge seriously and give the lead without waiting for others, was not forthcoming.

"In principle," Mr. Gaitskell would love to "scrap the lot," but not in practice; apparently he must first of all be sure that it is done everywhere and that they really are scrapped. In fact nothing but that age-old cliché ridden argument regarding control and inspection, upon which rock every disarmament conference has founded.

It is not possible under modern conditions to inspect every "hide-out"; it is not possible to be sure that nuclear power stations are being used only for peaceful means; in fact "inspection and control" are much more unrealistic than unilateral disarmament.

If Mr. Gaitskell had committed his Party to setting the example; if he had made proposals for disbanding the forces, for effectively directing labour into the production of goods other than weapons, for withdrawing from Nato, and dealing with the problems of colonies and protectorates, he would have at least have begun to engender the trust without which total disarmament will never be achieved.

He might have lost votes; he might have lost the election, but he would have saved the soul of the Party that once was pacifist because it held that men could be free only when war had been abolished, and moreover, he might have been the man about whom history would have recorded that he saved the human race.

Labour's lost opportunity is pacifism's challenge; "scrap the lot" unilaterally has always been pacifist policy and is the only sure way to peace.

## ELECTION SURVEY

### GUIDE TO CANDIDATES

The following information had reached Peace News at the time of going to press:

#### Fellowship Party (pacifist):

Ronald Mallone, W. Woolwich.

#### Independent Labour Party:

W. Christopher, Walthamstow East; William Park, Kelvingrove (Glasgow).

#### Independent Anti H-bomb:

Lawrence Daly, West Fife.

#### Prepared to defy Whip on H-bomb issue

#### (a) Labour Party

F. Bowerman, Leominster; H. Dutfield, N. Dorset; T. J. B. Heelas, Totnes; R. Portus, Chippenham; G. Moodie, Dumfries.

#### (b) Liberal Party

David Evans, Barking.

#### Labour (Party) Peace Fellowship:

Frank Allaun\*, Salford; S. Awbery, Bristol Central; F. Barton\*, Middleton and Prestwich; Fenner Brockway, Eton and Slough; J. Patterson Bryant, Hastings;

Mrs. Joyce Butler\*, Wood Green; Mrs. Anne Clark\*, Twickenham; S. Conbeer\*, Basingstoke; G. Craddock\*, Bradford South;

E. Fernyhough\*, Jarrow; Leslie Hale\*, Oldham West; N. Hart\*, Orpington; Rev. Hampden Horne\*, Safron Walden; Emrys Hughes\*, South Ayrshire; F. McManus\*. Morecambe and Lonsdale; E. Messer\*, Croydon South; W. Monslow, Barrow-in-Furness; R. Moss\*, Meriden; R. Ogley\*, Sevenoaks; I. Pavitt\*, Willesden; J. Rankin\*, Glasgow-Govan; E. C. Redhead\*, Walthamstow W.; W. Robinson, Windsor; R. Sorensen\*, Leyton; G. Thomas\*, Cardiff West; B. Weston, Tavistock; V. Yates\*, Ladywood. (\*Pacifists.)

#### Supporting unilateral nuclear disarmament. Welsh Party:

Gareth Evans, Cardiganshire; Gwynfor Evans\*, Merioneth; J. Gwyn Griffiths, Gower; J. Howell, Caerphilly; Glyn James, Rhondda W.; D. Alun Jones, West Denbigh; D. Orwig Jones, Caernarfon; R. Tudur Jones, Anglesey; Hyldy Lewis, Aberavon; B. C. L. Morgan, Pontypool; Eirwyn Morgan\*, Llanelli; Elystan Morgan, Wrexham; Chris Rees, Swansea E.; Ioan Bowen Rees, Conway; Emrys Roberts\*, Cardiff N.; Hywel Heulyn Roberts, Carmarthen; Ken Thomas, Aberdare; Nefyl Williams, West Flint; Noel Williams, Rhondda E.; Waldo Williams\*, Pembrokeshire. (\*Pacifists.)

#### Labour Party supporters of unilateral nuclear disarmament:

(Additional to LPF list above.)

J. Baird, Wolverhampton, N.E.; P. Benson, Hitchin; F. Beswick, Uxbridge; D. Bruce, The Wrekin; H. Davies, Leek; Mrs. P. L. Davies, Wandsworth, C.; H. Delargy, Thurrock; M. Edelman, Coventry, N.; A. Evans, Stroud; M. Foot, Devonport; A. Greenwood, Rossendale; W. Hamling, Woolwich, W.; J. Hart, Lanark; A. Hill, Dulwich; J. Holland, S. Gloucestershire; S. Hyam, Bradford; L. Jeger, Holborn and St. Pancras; P. Jenkins, Harrow W.; R. Kerr, Merton; R. Ledger, Romford; M. Lipton, Brixton; D. Longden, St. Ives; I. Mikardo, Reading; D. Nisbet, Paddington, S.; A. Oram, East Ham, S.; J. Paton, Norwich; D. Pitt, Hampstead; G. Richards, Maldon; C. Royle, Salford, W.; N. Selwyn, Knutsford; P. Shore, Halifax; S. Silverman, Nelson and Colne; D. Weitzman, Stoke Newington and Hackney, N.; T. Williams, Barons Court; W. Wilson, Warwick; W. Wolfgang, Croydon, N.E.; K. Zilliacus, Gorton.

#### Liberal Party:

I. Davies, Oxford; A. L. Smart, Derby, S.; R. Vanderplank, Hunts.

## UP AND UP

"WHO'S Campaign?" recently asked a well-known pacifist after reading this corner."

"OUR Campaign" is the simple answer—the non-stop effort each one of us must maintain if war, and all that leads to war,

is to be abolished.

Whether you are campaigning for total disarmament, nuclear disarma-

ment, for freedom from war, want, fear

### Pacifists open Woolwich campaign

"AS a pacifist I wholeheartedly support the aims and principles of the Fellowship Party, which seems to be the only party which is devoted to the abolition not only of nuclear weapons, but of all weapons of war. I believe this is the urgent political step demanded of us now by Christian charity."

Donald Swann (of "At the Drop of a Hat" fame) has sent this message of support to Ronald Mallone, who is contesting West Woolwich as a pacifist candidate for the Fellowship Party.

First results of canvassing are promising, Ronald Mallone told Peace News on Monday.

He is to meet his Labour and Conservative opponents at a meeting organised by the Eltham Council of Churches on Sept. 30 in Eltham Little Theatre. They will discuss the moral and Christian issues at stake in the election.

He will also be speaking with Sybil Morrison, Dr. A. D. Belden, John Loverseed and others at an election rally at Eltham Hill School at 8 p.m. on Thursday, Oct. 1.

Workers are coming to help from as far as Lancaster. Albert Leaper, a well-known Hull pacifist campaigner, is to assist in the organisation.

"Only one thing is of importance today," says Mr. Mallone in his election address—"that there shall be no war. . .

"The issue is not between Tory capitalism and Gaitskell's state capitalism, but whether the MPs who support H-bombs will allow mankind to exist."

His election address also carries a message from the Vice-President of the Methodist Conference, Professor C. A. Coulson.

Campaign headquarters are at 141 Woolacombe Road, S.E.3, Tel. LEE 6249.

### Would defy Party Whips

"If a Labour Government insisted on maintaining a separate nuclear deterrent I would vote against the Party Whip on this issue to make my position clear." Terence Heelas, the Labour candidate for the Totnes constituency of Devonshire, has told the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War.

"The Party is greater than the individual member, and the country is greater than the Party, but in the totally new situation which now faces us the ultimate loyalty of every individual must be to humanity itself and to nothing else."

H. J. Dutfield (North Dorset) has said "if elected I should feel it my duty to vote against the present Labour policy of an anti-nuclear club, and to support a policy of unilateral nuclear disarmament."

Graham Moodie (Lab., Dumfries) and David Evans (Liberal, Barking) have made similar statements, reports the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War.

### PPU CONFERENCE MOVES

THE venue for the Conference for Peace Pledge Union members supporting the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has been changed.

It will take place at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, and not at the Gandhi Memorial Hall as originally announced.

The time remains the same, from 11 a.m. to 1 p.m., and from 2 p.m. to 4 p.m. on Sunday, Sept. 27. Admission is by free ticket, obtainable from 6 Endsleigh Street.

or oppression, PEACE NEWS is on your side and doing its utmost to speed the realisation of your aims.

At least five thousand extra PEACE NEWS went out during "Let Britain Lead" Week.

So keep up Campaign Week's great work. Go on to make war preparations the issue in local election activities. Sell and distribute more and more of the only paper which puts principles first. H. F. M.

PEACE NEWS, September 25, 1959—5

### 12 Questions to would-be MPs

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom have drawn up the following questions which their members are asked to put to candidates. It is not suggested that they should all be asked of any candidate. Local WIL Committees are asked to select two or three questions and send a small delegation to discuss the issues with their local candidate.

- Do you consider that in view of recent scientific discoveries it will be necessary to have a fundamental change in foreign policy?
- Are you in favour of renouncing war as an instrument of national policy?
- Are you prepared to urge the removal of American bases in this country, especially where these are concerned with the storage and possible use of nuclear weapons?
- What steps do you intend to take to remove the menace of the Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs?
- Do you consider that the discoveries of the immense potentialities of chemical and bacteriological warfare should make the Government of the United Kingdom outlaw the use and manufacture of such weapons and discontinue further research in this field?
- Are you in favour of a revision of the United Nations Charter? Do you believe this would strengthen UN?
- Are you in favour of seating representatives of the People's Republic of China at UN and in the Security Council?
- Do you think that Britain should accept a slower rise in the standard of living in order to help the under-developed countries, and are you satisfied with the contribution that the United Kingdom makes to the UN agencies for economic development?
- How would you promote the economic development of the High Commission Territories in Southern Africa to lessen their dependence on the Union of South Africa?
- How can we regain the trust of Africans in the Central African Federation?
- What steps could be taken to remove race discrimination in Britain?
- Are you in favour of the rate for the job, whether in professions, trade or industry, and will you advocate equal pay for equal work for all women now?

### PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Sufi Service

FRIENDS INTERNATIONAL CENTRE

32 Tavistock Square, Euston

3.30 p.m., Sunday, September 27

"IS THIS A RECORD?"

Miss L. Hayat Bouman

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## WHY THEY FASTED AT STEVENAGE

Peace News Reporter

**THERE** must be some reason why four people should starve themselves for three days. The four in question—members of Stevenage CND group—hit on the idea because of the particular situation they faced.

The issue of nuclear disarmament had caused a ferment in the town in April when the Direct Action Committee held a vigorous 12-day demonstration there against the production of nuclear missiles. Everyone, from the building workers who had staged a token strike of support, to the workers in the missile factories had talked of little else. Nuclear disarmament was already an issue but the blaze had died down and the embers needed rekindling.

That was the background to the idea of the fast—a fast of penance for the involvement of Stevenage in the inhuman programme of mass annihilation. The group hoped to reach out across the human bridge and touch the consciences of the inhabitants. This was to be the group's first activity in Nuclear Disarmament Week. The fast was to last from Friday, September 11—Sunday, September 13, but it was made clear that anyone could participate for whatever period they wished—even if that meant missing only one meal.

### FUNDS FOR REFUGEES

The money saved, it was agreed, should be given to something wholly practical, something which most people of good will would agree was constructive, yet something which was in line with an action against war. So the money was to be given to the World Refugee Year Fund. Even the scoffers—and a fast seems to rouse prejudice—would be able to see the practicality of the action.

The group wanted no halo of martyrdom for their self denial. "We do this, not because we consider ourselves better than anyone else," they said in a letter to the press.

The local newspapers blazoned the action far and wide and even the national press gave it a small showing.

Only four fasted the full three days, but several members of the group and other sympathisers fasted for one or two days or missed some meals, also contributing to the fund.

Each evening the fasters met in the local Quaker Meeting House, to share fellowship, and, as it turned out, to laugh to bursting point at their diet of water.

### WHAT THEY LEARNED

How did the fasters feel? Those who completed the three days experienced some weakness on the second and third days. As the fast had been held intentionally over a week-end however, there was no difficulty about curtailing recreation.

But the other important question, prominent in most people's minds is probably "What effect did the action have?" And to this there is no complete answer.

The effect may have been gigantic; it may have been negligible; the group may learn later on, more likely it will never know. But even if the action must remain imponderable, the group has none the less learned. As a housewife who cooked for her children every day of the fast put it: "I'm glad I did it. I now know how a hungry refugee feels, and I realise even more, how important nuclear disarmament is."

So far over £5 has been collected for the refugees—but the contributions keep coming in.

### NEW SHERWOOD SCHOOL, EPSOM

A Co-educational, progressive, parent-owned school, emphasising co-operation rather than competition, takes day and boarding pupils 5 to 18. EPSOM 9619

# FOOTNOTE TO THE BEAT

OVERHEARD in a local, "The Royal Moss-back":

"I say, old boy, what's all this I hear about your American Beat or Beatnik, or whatever, eh?"

"Oh, don't worry about that. It just happens to be the latest kick over there. Next year it will be something else. What about the Teddy Boys?"

"Like to break their necks, I would. Bloody clots just won't work. . . . but really now, dear boy, do tell me, what's the plot? Who beat them? The coppers?"

"OK. But you won't dig it."

As much as could be heard of what followed went something like this:

■ ■ ■

MAN, don't your Teddy Boys mean something? Don't the Soho coffee shops mean something? Don't the rock and roll cellars, or the French JVs, or the Moscow hooligans? Haven't you dug Brendan Behan's "Hostage"? Aren't you with it at all? Our version of all this is currently called the Beat Generation. They're just that group in America who are revolting against the revolting Image of America you see in "Time," "Life" and other national information agencies. They have become a sort of passive underground resistance in a country occupied by the Squares. We call them Subterraneans, or Hipsters, or, more popularly, the Beat. To this group there exists only two worlds—theirs and the squares. They were Beat (under) by the squares I suppose, if anybody beat them. Certain purists say Beat refers to beatitude, but I can only say its a significant contraction.

In a word, Beat or Beatnik is a cliché, that part of the battered iceberg you see above the square surface. The truly beat are that larger group bulking below—the subterranean world of the "disaffiliated." They copped out, man. The exhibitionist Beatnik is devoted to kicks (projects), such as pot (marijuana), jazz (but modern jazz, man, not that old uncle tom Louis), and cellar poets. The in-group kicks are always the Most, man, the End. This is what you read about in New York, Chicago and San Francisco. Their poet-laureate is Jack Kerouac in "On the Road," a book of at least historical importance.

\* \* \*

Like your Teddy Boy jazz (silly talk), our juvenile delinquents, motor-cycle gangs, etc., represent the lurid, unthinking revolt against the Establishment, as you call it. By and large, the so-called beat are those who take a more thoughtful position Against. Many plead creative impulses, or at least dig those realities in jazz, poetry, and fiction. They simply ignore constituted Society; they aren't With It. Their weapon is the No, not the switch-blade. This is not to put down the Teddy Boy or the French JVs; they, too, trample out the grapes. They all have two things in common: they're young and they're Against.

The rock on which this house was built has depths: the truly hip say No to the immense, conformist, shiny new kitchen of America. (For the hipster, it was tragically apt that Khrushchov and Nixon should conduct their square dialogue in front of the golden calf of the latest American kitchen. K claimed to have them too, remember.) They know that War (man, you know, stiff upper lip, the Game, like Cricket) is in that kitchen, too, right between the dishwasher and the garbage disposal unit. If not satisfied, your money back (in the grave). You dig. Are you with me? Well, out of this chromium dung heap (be not proud, they will make new British kitchens too) those who are now hip plucked a flower, their own Individuality, their personal YES and NO. Blinking in the strontium 90 sunlight (as they left Bedlam's out-patient gate) they say to themselves with joy, Man, you're finally with it, YES YES YES, and they start rooting about for sustenance in the sea of Life beneath the Institutions. Forever after, words like Motherhood, Dad, Right, Left, Religion, Socialism, Capitalism and University cease to have any meaning, and the

only reality becomes what they call the Essence of their own immediacy.

Among the literate hip, if they dig the reason Why, existentialism ("Irrational Man," by Wm. Barrett, not Sartre) and Zen Buddhism map some of the ocean floor. As for the clerics, the politicians, the professors, the philosophers—man, they're Nowhere. They haven't even been there. These classic ruins above the surface are no longer particularly resented; they just aren't taken seriously, they are simply traps to be avoided. In a sense, to the hip, the world they once knew Has already been blown up. It is root hog, or die of frustration. To make an impolite British comparison, its lovely villages seem empty of the young and eager, its ancient churches left fallow with their weathered signs "Appeal for Funds for Restoration" (of the Establishment). If England might be said to be Tended (by Coldstream Guards and lonely Vicars), America seems to the hip to be Serviced (by the car dealer, the

words like Love, Me, or You. It wouldn't be possible. (Would it, I wonder?) There can, for them, no longer be a Cause. Fundamentally their revolt is against All national Establishments, as I have said.

"This is all I can see at the moment, there's probably more, but I've been away from my contacts, dad, and I'm mostly not With It like I was."

"Really, I never heard such rot! Er—please, my good man, could we have two large whiskies, please?"

"Thank you, great idea. Well, I told you, like you don't dig it, man, but BE SURE YOU DON'T KNOCK IT!"

**H-bomb ban in sight**  
**—CANON COLLINS**

"THE banning of nuclear weapons is in sight," declared Canon Collins in an article in the Daily Worker, the British Communist newspaper, on September 10. Precentor of St. Paul's Cathedral and Chairman of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Cannon Collins showed how nuclear weapons had become a question for debate in the trade unions and the Labour and Conservative Parties.

He affirmed his belief in the rank and file of the Labour Party to produce a change in the Party's policy on the bomb, and added:

"I believe the Labour Party is the only hope for a real change in this country, though I think its leadership is wrong on the nuclear issue. But if, as I sincerely hope, the electorate returns a Labour Government at the General Election, then the CND will really be in sight of victory."

He hoped it would be possible to unite all people who want peace around a minimum programme against all indiscriminate warfare:

"By this I mean a programme which sets out to ban all nuclear weapons, all weapons of chemical or bacteriological warfare, and any other of the horrific weapons scientists may see fit to invent in the future."

Though he did not like Communist ideology, it was madness to say the world should be blown up before accepting Communist rule. The danger with Russia lay in a partial inability to see the other person's point of view. The need was for patience and good will from the British Government. Summit talks to bring about personal contact were essential.

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**Algeria: De Gaulle states his policy****ULTIMATUM—NO ANSWER**

By Fenner Brockway, MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom



THERE is one territory in Africa where a war for independence is openly pursued. I refer, of course, to Algeria, where a Government in exile has been established in Cairo and where the greatest concentration of French troops has been unable to suppress the rebellion. President de Gaulle has now made a declaration of policy which will profoundly affect the future.

I will try to present the picture in balance. When General de Gaulle carried through his revolution in France, destroying the normal democracy of the Republic, I pointed out the contradiction that in colonial ideas he was more progressive than the imperialist and Fascist die-hards who had placed him in power.

**The Fourth Republic in France was overthrown by a revolt in Algeria by the French Colonists there.**

They wanted a repudiation of proposals made in influential circles in France that compromises should be made with the Algerians. They wanted an all-out war for the forcible integration of Algeria with France. They wanted to sweep away the effete wrangling "democracy" in the Chamber of Deputies and put power in the hands of the army. General de Gaulle was their god.

The General rode to power on this storm. Much of political democracy was destroyed in France. But they misjudged his attitude on Colonialism and Algeria, as I wrote at the time.

I am not saying at all that the French President stands for ideas which will be acceptable to Algeria or, for long, to the peoples of the French colonies in Africa. Because I am writing before I become totally submerged in the British elections, I do not know at this moment what has been the reaction among Algerians to his proposals. I only emphasise how contrary they are to the Fascist-Imperialist ideas of the colonial reactionaries in Algeria who lifted him to office.

**Sahara test**

His policy in the other French colonies should have warned the die-hards. He has established a French Community from the French colonies, with considerable self-government. Only Guinea took advantage of the option to become entirely independent. I don't think this compromise with those who demand full freedom will be lasting. I anticipate that the Federation of Mala will be the next to claim independence. But it was acceptable for the moment and was a considerable advance on the earlier colonial policy of France, which denied the right of national self-government and insisted on complete unification with Paris.

I may add, incidentally, that the maintenance of the French community

has recently suffered a severe blow by the subservience with which its colonial representatives have accepted the decision of General de Gaulle to explode a nuclear bomb in the Sahara.

The Federation of Mala made its reservations—and I am quite sure that the peoples of all the other French Community territories will share the passionate opposition of the rest of Africa to this outrage. The French African leaders who have succumbed to General de Gaulle's blandishments on this subject will find themselves very unpopular among the masses in their countries!

The break-up of the French Community has been hastened by this surrender. There is little doubt that the future pattern of African society will be a federation of independent States which will supersede the old frontiers of the European Occupation of the last century.

**The best one can say of General de Gaulle's French Community is that it will serve a transition period.**

One does not know whether his proposals for Algeria will even serve that purpose. I would dearly like to see the end of the destruction and the death, the torture and the terror, which the war in Algeria has caused. But let us face the facts.

**Concessions to settlers**

General de Gaulle has refused to negotiate with the exiled Algerian Government which many African independent States, as well as Governments outside Africa, have recognised. This is a concession to the French settlers in Algeria which may be fatal. How much easier it would have been if conversations had taken place, at least indirectly, which would have removed the impression that a plan was being imposed from outside and that the Algerian leaders were being ignored!

Secondly, General de Gaulle has aroused the maximum prejudice among Algerians (obviously to reconcile the French colonists) by his scathingly-worded lead against independence. He says its effects would be "incredible and disastrous," involving poverty, political chaos, general slaughter and Communist dictatorship! It could only involve such consequences if France and the rest of the world declined to co-operate with an independent Algeria in its own reconciliation and progress.

**What is the value of offering self-determination to a people and then saying to them that if they choose independence they can go to hell?**

The second threat is of economic privation and exploitation. France would withdraw much of her economic aid to Algeria.

That was threatened when Guinea declared for independence, but in fact France has largely thought better of it. And Algeria is told, even if it becomes independent, that the possession of the Sahara oil wells and the disposal of the oil would remain in French hands. No right of the Algerians to nationalise it! Economic imperialism would survive political imperialism.

This provocative declaration was quite unnecessary. In practice an independent Algeria would require French capital and French technical resources. The other colonial territories which have become independent have of necessity invited the investment of foreign capital for a period.

**But no self-reliant people will permanently accept foreign ownership of its natural wealth and main economic services.**

**Two other choices**

There is a further step which the French President could have taken if he desired to create an atmosphere of conciliation within Algeria and Africa. He could have announced the abandonment of the nuclear tests planned for the Sahara to which I have already referred. The Algerian and African peoples are passionately opposed to their territory and continent being made an experimental ground for the death-spreading instruments of the European Powers. A recognition of this deep feeling would have changed the whole psychology.

General de Gaulle offers two other choices in a referendum. First, absolute identification with France. The Algerian people, if allowed to vote freely, would never accept that. Second, self-government with internal federation, in association with France. The Algerian people would be more likely to accept federation with their African neighbours, Tunisia and Morocco.

The referendum on these issues would not take place until four years after the restoration of peace. But there is little hope of a cease-fire without negotiation with the Algerian leaders. And there is the all-important question of the conditions under which the referendum will take place. There is some hope in the General's promise that it would be through universal suffrage under the eye of "observers from all over the world." Other African nations should be quick to stake a claim to representation among the observers.

**One can say this. General de Gaulle's proposals will not be acceptable to the Algerian leaders in their present form and context. They will not accept an imposed ultimatum.**

But the United Nations will shortly be considering Algeria. It would be possible for the General Assembly to suggest that a Good Offices Commission, with a strong presence from the Afro-Asian Group, should have consultations with both sides with a view to securing conditions of cease-fire in which early and genuine self-determination could take place.

No one wants the war in Algeria to go on. Its freedom must come and its representative leaders must have a voice in its conditions. France should realise that she is fighting History if she does not recognise these facts.

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**Thursday, October 1**

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. "Pamphlets & Politics." Alan Lovell, PPU.

**Friday, October 2**

MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Mount St. "Should a Pacifist Vote in the Parliamentary Election?" Discussion led by Fred Barton, P.R.

**Friday, October 2—Sunday, October 4**

MERTHYR TYDFIL: Conference, "Aspects of Hinduism." Swami Avyaktananda, Fellowship of Friends of Truth, Garthnewydd Community Ho., Merthyr Tydfil.

**Saturday, October 3**

LEICESTER: 7.45 p.m. 134 Letchworth Rd. Visit to Russia. Miss G. Hill, PPU.

LONDON, N.S.: 8 a.m.—5 p.m. Steenoven Ho., 16 Aberdeen Rd. Day of Prayer for World Peace. Crusade of Prayer for World Peace.

**Sunday, October 4**

LONDON, W.1: 3 p.m. Speakers Corner, Hyde Park. Sybil Morrison, PPU.

**Monday, October 5**

MANCHESTER, 3: 10.30 a.m. Assembly Room, Blackfriars Ho., Parsonage. Local Tribunal for COs.

**Wednesday, October 7**

HASTINGS: 7.30 p.m. Lower Hall, White Rock Pavilion. "Children of Hiroshima." For PPU.

**DIARY**

1. Send notices to arrive first post Mon.
2. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); name of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, September 25

BRISTOL: 7.30 p.m. 20 Avonleaze, Sea Mills. Meeting, PPU.

DUBLIN: 8 p.m. 6 Eustace St. Public Mtg. "Recent Developments in World Pacifism." Arlo Tatum, Irish Pacifist Movement.

HEREFORD: 8 p.m. Town Hall. Final Rally. Bishop of Llandaff. Chair: E. R. Wood, CND.

LEICESTER: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Films CND.

Saturday, September 26

LONDON, S.W.16: 2.30 p.m. St. Mary's Ho., 57 Glencairn Rd. Service. 3 p.m. Annual Conference. The Brotherhood of the Way.

Sunday, September 27

LONDON, W.1: 3 p.m. Speakers Corner, Hyde Park. Sybil Morrison, PPU.

LONDON, S.W.4: 3 p.m. Clapham Common. Open-air Mtg. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3.30 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. "Is This a Record?" Miss L. Hayat Bouman. Sufi Service of Universal Worship.

LONDON, W.C.1: 11 a.m.—1 p.m., 2 p.m.—4 p.m. Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St. PPU Conf. for members working in and through CND & DAC. PPU.

Monday, September 28

BIRMINGHAM, 26: 7.45 p.m. 19 Newark Croft, Sheldon. Members Mtg. PPU.

Tuesday, September 29

LONDON, W.C.1: 6.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. All PPU members welcome. London Area PPU.

SOUTHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Ordnance Rd. "Pacifists & the General Election." Robert Mundy, Edward Lush. Chair: E. Windbank. PPU.

WYTHENSHAWE: 8 p.m. Baguley Hall Methodist Church, Bowland Rd. "The Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy." Discussion led by Mr. Broadbridge and Mr. Williams. CND.

Wednesday, September 30

LONDON, W.8: 10.30 a.m. & 1.15 p.m. Town Hall, High St. London Local



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# NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT WEEK ROUND-UP

## H-BOMB FEAR MUST GO

—Bertrand Russell

Nuclear disarmament week has been a successful demonstration of the case for unilateral renunciation of nuclear weapons by Britain suggest reports received by Peace News from all parts of the country.

The climax of the week in London was a meeting in Trafalgar Square and a march from the Square to St. Paul's Cathedral. 12,000 people were present at the meeting and nearly 7,000 people took part in the march.

Speaking in Trafalgar Square for the first time in his life, the 87-year-old President of the campaign, Bertrand Russell, said: "We have lived too long with fear. We should use science for the good of mankind and not for his destruction. We must learn to think of men—not of this or that group. . . I don't like to think that I owe my daily existence to the possibility of killing hundreds of millions of human beings who are labelled enemies and who I am told to hate. It is not a decent way to live."

On Monday evening 2,000 people attended a midnight matinee at the Festival Hall, London, organised by the Women's Group of the Campaign.

A THOUSAND people were present at the end of the Edinburgh nuclear disarmament week march last Saturday to hear Jacquette Hawkes, Ritchie Calder and J. B. Priestley speak.

On the previous evening about 1,200 people were at the Usher Hall where Lord Boyd Orr, Sir Compton Mackenzie, Ritchie Calder, Pamela Frankau and Naomi Mitchison (recorded) were the speakers. Local meetings during the week attracted many young people particularly at the new Portobello Housing Estate.

"Considering that the march and rally took place on the Edinburgh Holiday weekend, and that it coincided with a 'Battle of Britain' display at the airport, the numbers marching and meeting were good," Mrs. Mairi Stewart, Vice-chairman told Peace News.

Brighton (Sussex) CND made the week the occasion for holding a first public meeting in the neighbouring town of Southwick. An enthusiastic audience filled the Town Hall to hear a prominent Liberal, Mrs. Joyce Gow, MBE, JP, of the East Sussex Education Committee; Vernon Beste, author and playwright; and Bill Owen, the film and TV actor. Unitarian minister, Rev. John Rowland, took the chair.

"It looks as if this will be the beginning of some considerable growth of the cause in the town," Alan Staley told Peace News.

### Influence of example

New ground in Sussex was also broken with the leafleting of Hassocks in connection with the South-East Regional Rally.

In the Derbyshire town of Alfreton an audience of about 80 heard Mr. J. B. Priestley say:

"We are very little boys playing with two very big boys so far as nuclear weapons are concerned. If we gave them up, would it have any influence on the United States or the Soviet Union, or would we just be making an empty gesture?"

"My own belief is that it would have a very considerable influence on the other two. What is the position now? Nobody except a lunatic wants these weapons. They have gone on playing power politics into this age of great technical achievements—and suddenly they find them-

selves landed with these enormous weapons. They would like to get out of it."

But the whole thing went on in an atmosphere of fear and suspicion, and people had been conditioned by their mode of life so that they could not make any big, open gesture. But he said that they wanted to.

"I never have believed that we and the Americans and the Russians are just ruled by a lot of callous scoundrels," said Mr. Priestley. "The nuclear boys would love to say, 'Boys, let's pack it up and go home,' like a lot of fed-up poker players."

Dr. Harold Miller, a Sheffield physicist and member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, told the audience:

"In my view the CND will serve a very important function if it stimulates people to look at what is happening and to make up their minds what they want to do about the technical progress that is now possible. Unless we say that we want something other than H-bombs or rockets, then these will be made."

Rhodes scholar Stuart Hall, an editor of the Universities and Left Review, said it would be possible in the next five years for at least 12 new countries to have atomic weapons, so in seven or eight years there would be 20-23 nations who could, if they so chose, arm themselves with weapons at least as large as those used at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

### French H-test

"I believe that disarmament—not just atomic or nuclear, but total disarmament—will have to be a matter arrived at by agreement multilaterally among the powers. I think there has been a change in the climate of opinion in the USSR and the USA."

France's proposed testing in the Sahara would be "one of the biggest blows and one of the greatest insults paid to the African continent in this century."

Mr. Hall said he thought it quite impracticable to put much faith in the "non-nuclear club," supported by the joint declaration of the Labour Party and the TUC.

It was quite clear that it intended not only to leave nuclear weapons in the hands of the United States and the Soviet Union to manufacture, but it also left open the present state of affairs.

Mr. Hall, who came to Britain in 1951, concluded: "I have a very great respect for the long tradition in this country of being willing to die for something which you respect very much, but I think we have entered a period in world history when the cry should be not what will you die for, but how and for whom and in what manner are we all prepared to live?"

Although it has only a tiny handful of active members, Dartford (Kent) put on a full programme of activities. Public events included a Direct Action evening with the Swaffham film and a visit from Pat Arrowsmith, a Town Hall meeting with national speakers, and two factory gate meetings.

But the important emphasis was on street activities. Just before the Week a "pilot" poll was held to determine opinion on the bomb; of those who had thought about it at all, just over half wanted to get rid of it. During the Week itself a special portable stand for literature and notices was erected at a strategic point every day in the nearby "new town" of Swanley. In Dartford itself, a literature stall was manned daily by the main bus stop.

The Week opened in Whitley Bay with a public meeting addressed by Ritchie Calder and Prof. N. Kemmer, writes Denzil Webb from the well-known Northumbrian holiday resort.

Although small, the meeting received both speakers well, and the calibre of ques-

tions showed that a great deal of serious interest was given to the problems of nuclear weapons.

Ritchie Calder arrived late after addressing meetings in South Shields and Newcastle-on-Tyne, and ran to the platform amid clapping and cheering.

Other activities in Whitley Bay included the manning of a literature stall all the week by the women members, and hundreds of leaflets given out at churches and railway stations.

The refusal of Worthing Council (Sussex) to allow the use of a site for the local CND Exhibition brought publicity to the Group, reports Sybil Cookson. Canvassing, leaflet distribution and daily drives round the town by a placarded loud-speaker van attracted much public attention.

The Rev. Francis Noble presided at a meeting in Orpington, Kent, at which the three prospective Parliamentary candidates put forward their views and so made the issue front page news in the local press.

The Liberal candidate, Mr. Jack Galloway, claimed that his Party's policy was nearest to that of the Campaign and made much play of the letter from a Liberal candidate which had appeared in The Guardian stating that the Campaign was not against the American bomb.

Mr. Galloway would substitute a NATO bomb for the British bomb. (Canon Collins' letter had not then appeared in The Guardian stating that it is the Campaign's wish to see the USA give up the bomb too.)

Labour candidate Norman Hart, although he pointed out the advantages of the Labour Party non-nuclear club policy, made it clear that he was against the use or threat of force in all circumstances, and referred to the stand he had taken as a conscientious objector during the last war.

Over half the audience of 80 were teenagers at a later meeting, with Ron Huzzard of the Labour Peace Fellowship in the chair, in nearby Petts Wood, reports Rex Phillips. Youth groups are to be set up in both towns.

### Press publicity

Some 200 people marched through Bournemouth, but were prevented by the Chief Constable from passing through the main shopping centres. The diversion resulted, however, in considerable press publicity.

The marchers paused at St. Peter's Church to accept a last-minute invitation to take part in public prayer and dedication. Father Healy, the Rev. Wyons Maulverer and Benn Levy were at the head of the march which has made a deep impression on a town unused to this kind of demonstration.

Michael Howard, Chief Marshal for the Aldermaston marches, was the principal speaker in Limehouse, East London.

The public ought to realise how the people of the poorer countries of the world feel about atomic weapons, he said.

"Many who are already in a state of near-starvation cannot have any friendly feelings towards Britain and the other countries which add to their sufferings by nuclear tests," he declared.

Moral grounds for opposition to nuclear armaments were put forward by Victor Gollancz, when he spoke at four meetings in North London in one evening last week.

He did not know whether or not we would be safer, as some supporters of the Campaign contended, without nuclear arms. He knew nothing whatever about the science or technique of the subject.

"I support the Campaign for a very simple reason," he declared. "To manufacture nuclear weapons, to store nuclear weapons, to contemplate using them, to threaten that they will be used in any

conceivable circumstances either for attack or defence knowing that to let loose a nuclear bomb is to kill millions of our fellow human beings and destroy millions yet unborn—to do that for any conceivable reason is wholly and absolutely evil."

He was not, however, a starry-eyed idealist but a hard-headed business man, and he also believed that that which was right would turn out, in the long run, to be that which was most expedient. If the present situation continued it was bound to lead to international war. The only way to break the spell was for one nation to repent, to destroy openly before the world its stock of H-bombs, and to undertake never to manufacture or use such bombs. If this was done he believed the whole international situation would alter.

### People v. politicians

Portsmouth CND opened up with a public meeting at which Diana Collins, wife of Canon John Collins, noted that most of the points made by the campaigners were now being conceded by the politicians.

John Braine, author of best selling "Room At The Top," stressed he was not a pacifist. He was primarily against the bomb because he did not want to be a murderer. Dealing with the Communist "smear" he stated that the policy of the British Communists was not for unilateral rejection of the H-bomb. Communist dominated unions opposed Frank Cousins resolution to ban the bomb. The speaker ended, the war to be fought was between the politicians and the human race. That war must be won for humanity by the Campaign.

An exhibition open all day at a local hall, poster parades covering several miles of local main roads, collections of money and signatures from supporters and an open-air meeting at Spouters' Corner, Wood Green, inaugurated the Week in Southgate, Wood Green, and then Hornsey.

Barnet CND held a meeting at the Ewan Hall as the Week opened and showed the film "March to Aldermaston."

A local resident, Mr. Edward Blishen, teacher and author, spoke of the present armaments race as "acquiescence in insanity such as the human race has never before been involved in."

### Churches picketed in Hereford campaign

From Peter Brown.

HEREFORDSHIRE'S campaign week—which began as the national one ended—started with a day's picketing of Hereford city churches on Sunday, following a procession through the streets.

About 30 people, including the city librarian, the principal of a local teachers' training college, the head of the local girls' high school and a city councillor, took part.

With mounted campaign week posters slung from their necks, they helped to distribute handbills advertising the week's events as congregations entered and left services.

These included a county Red Cross service and a Battle of Britain parade, both at the Cathedral. Police co-operation was good and there was virtually no overt hostility.

This was followed up with meetings in the market towns of the county—Kington, Ledbury, Leominster, Ross-on-Wye and Hereford—ending today (Friday) with a rally in Hereford Town Hall at which the Bishop of Llandaff is to speak.